

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. [145] While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

842 When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
[788] a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[782] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
769 tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
[431] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

846 After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
834 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
431 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.

862 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

854 In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light, [184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This [171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are sometimes quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk [853] is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes [826] the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
857 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ʌɟ ɪ ɒ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [947]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ɛ ɪ 0 ː , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 983
amz'ad ʋ # ɟ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ː ɛ # , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjethé" ː ɛ ɪ ' + , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

Chapter IV

Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ɪ ɪ ː , plural "ihallen"/ ɪ ɪ ː .

272 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
 231 Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
 174 or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emanates from God. It is given by God to
 747 man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The benediction
 783 *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for
 241 this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
 262 he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, therefore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
 778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
 784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers - they might be unclean and harm the
 234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture - the lack of *elbaraka* - to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.

*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
 577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
 272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émehled* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émehled* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221): put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
 272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
 262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The

*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
 234 than those mentioned

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241/412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferrwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasile-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different: it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228-278).

241/412 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as *elharaka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elharaka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwal* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

243/414 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasile-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amrech*) (Fig. 143a-b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwal*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are

243/414 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasile-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. I everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmuui*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171-172).

Storerooms . Beliefs

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them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud - the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar - are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damerou where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they lose their *sharaka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).

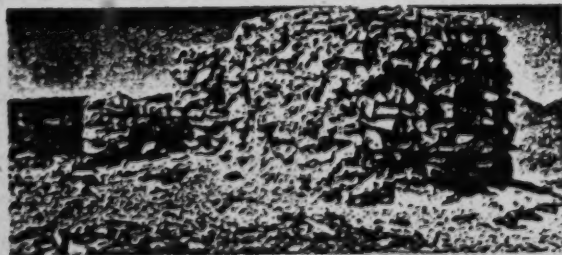
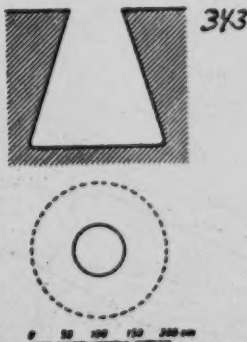


Fig. 145. Grain silo of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Ablesia.

Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*dgend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m-2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 459 f.).



[Text continues on p. 209]